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## TENANCY IN THE NORTH CENTRAL STATES

### SUMMARY

The tenancy problem one of many phases, 710. — Characterization of the North Central States, 712. — Relation of tenancy to value of land, by states, 714. — The same by groups of counties, 717. — Influenced by size of farms, 719. — By type of farming, 720. — Tenancy and the corn belt, 723. — Extensive and intensive farming, 724. — Summary, 728.

FROM the standpoint of tenancy the United States is far too large and too varied to be treated as a unit. Any one of the recognized geographical divisions is so large and varied that even a statistical treatment of tenancy for one section is sure to leave out of account many local and minor influences which taken together may be of primary importance. It would be irrational to speak of tenancy in the abstract and include within the scope of the term the twenty-acre cotton farm of Georgia and the thousand-acre farm of North Dakota. In the former case the tenant is usually under the eye and the domination of the owner of the land; is in debt for equipment and dependent for subsistence; is in charge of one thousand dollars worth of property; and is himself the owner of but one or two hundred dollars worth. In the latter case the tenant is frequently as independent as the owner of the land; selects his crops to be planted; plans his field operations; owns his live stock and implements, free from incumbrance; buys and sells entirely at will; owns property worth from one to several thousand dollars; and is in charge of a farm worth perhaps twenty-five thousand dollars. Such is the contrast from north to south. Tho the contrast from east to

west is less pronounced, it is by no means negligible. In the East the farm is small by comparison; it no longer responds to cultivation alone; is not so well adapted to the use of draft animals and even less to the use of mechanical power; diversified farming, or highly specialized intensive farming, is the only types which can succeed. In the far West there is a great expanse of country, and the greatest diversity of soil and climate; a range of crops from the durum wheat and alfalfa of the plains to the irrigated gardens of the valleys. There is land worn out from the standpoint of present methods of farming, and land so rich that those farming it believe it will last forever. There are farms (so-called) of a quarter of a million acres, worth a dollar an acre; and farms of three acres worth three thousand dollars an acre. Moreover, in the western country many farms are just being taken from the government in the form of homestead, Carey Act entries, desert claims, and the like; great numbers are being sold on every conceivable plan of coöperative development and deferred payment, these latter being orchard enterprises as a rule. It is apparent that these conditions are not comparable either with the South, the East, or the middle West. It is no less apparent that the different units here are not comparable one with another. The conditions are so unstable and uncertain that it is difficult to describe the present situation, let alone discover the trend events are taking. It may, however, be noted by way of further introduction that there is a comparatively low percentage of tenancy in the East and in the far West; the highest percentage in the South; and, in the North, a high percentage in the middle West, or, in terms of the census, the North Central division of states.

The North Central division is a large block of country. It comprises twelve states, the smallest being Indiana, the largest, Minnesota. Taken together they have an area of over three-quarters of a million square miles, or 22 per cent of the area of continental United States. They have a population of almost thirty millions, or about a third of the total. From the agricultural point of view this section has striking features. Here are over one-third of all the farms and farm land of the country, valued at more than the remaining two-thirds. In connection with these farms are found nearly half of the cattle, 45 per cent of the horses, and, in value, almost half of the agricultural implements and machinery. Within this section there is grown two-thirds of the wheat crop of the whole country. Also seven-tenths of the corn crop, eight-tenths of the oats crop, and six-tenths of the hay and forage crop are grown in this division. In short, the great bulk of the bread stuffs and the meat, and no inconsiderable part of the dairy products and the fruit, come from these states.

The North Central division is often spoken of as a section uniform in character and quality; but such is far from the case. For example, the price of land in Illinois is reported at \$94.90 per acre, and in North Dakota at \$25.70, the other ten states ranging between these extremes. Even within a state there are great variations. For example, in Illinois and Iowa there is much land selling for more than \$200 an acre, while at the same time a whole county in Illinois is reported at \$17.00 per acre for land and buildings. Nebraska has land selling for \$150 in the eastern part of the state, while in the western part there are abundant examples of the economist's no-rent land. Moreover, both in Ohio and in North Dakota there is land

which has not been farmed at all. The topography, the nature of the soil, and the length of time it has been cultivated all help to determine the size of the farm, which in Ohio averages 89 acres, and in North Dakota 382 acres. The density of population is correspondingly unlike, ranging from 117 per square mile in Ohio down to 7.6 in South Dakota, while in parts of Ohio the density is several times the average for the state and in South Dakota it falls below one per square mile for some counties.

There is great diversity in the character of the soil and its primary condition. The greatest prairies of North America were in these states, and some of the best of the pine forests and extensive hardwood forests. The swamps are great in extent in the northern part, tho irrigation is essential to good crops in the western part. As a result the character of the farming varies very greatly. Certain states may be characterized by the leading type of agriculture within them. Ohio has long been known as a sheep-growing state, Illinois as a cereal-producing state, Wisconsin as a dairy state, Iowa as a cattle- and swine-producing state. Minnesota and the two Dakotas are known far and wide as the producers of wheat, barley, and flax; Michigan is noted for fruit, and sugar beets; and so through the list. It is not necessary, however, to go from one state to another to find changing conditions. There is much dissimilarity within any given state, and consequent variety in the agriculture. In Wisconsin, for example, there is the regular grain growing, — corn, oats, and barley; there are cattle for beef and for the dairy, there are sheep and swine; but in addition to these more ordinary kinds of farming, we find the tobacco farms, truck farms, and the so-called clover-seed farms, besides

land still to be made into farms. In Illinois the crop range is a wide one. Some parts of the state grow as much corn per square mile as is grown anywhere; some counties are outside the main corn belt. In parts of the state clover and timothy are found on almost every farm; in other parts these crops are almost unknown.

With all these conditions varying so widely it would be strange were tenancy a constant factor, and it is not. Indeed, it would hardly be possible for it to run through a wider range, since it now varies by individual counties from less than one per cent of all farms in some to eighty-three per cent in others. Over two-fifths of all land of the United States rented to tenant farmers is found in this group of twelve states, and these farms have a value greater than that of the other three-fifths of such farms.

VALUE OF LAND AND PER CENT OF TENANCY

	Value per acre	Per cent of tenancy	Rank in value	Rank in tenancy
Illinois.....	94.90	41.4	1	1
Iowa.....	83.00	37.8	2	3
Indiana.....	62.00	30.0	3	5
Ohio.....	53.30	28.4	4	7
Wisconsin.....	43.30	13.9	5	12
Nebraska.....	41.84	38.2	6	2
Missouri.....	41.76	29.9	7	6
Minnesota.....	37.00	21.0	8	9
Kansas.....	35.50	36.8	9	4
South Dakota.....	34.70	24.6	10	8
Michigan.....	32.00	16.0	11	10
North Dakota.....	25.70	14.3	12	11

The first fact to be noticed is the close parallelism between the value of land and the proportion of tenancy. The above table shows the value of land per acre,

and the per cent of tenancy, as reported in the Thirteenth Census, together with the rank in each.

It will be seen that the ranks in value and in tenancy correspond closely in about two-thirds of the states and differ materially in the other instances. Must it be inferred then that the case is a mere coincidence? Before dismissing it as such let us drop three states from the list and re-rank the remaining nine. Dropping Wisconsin, Kansas, and Nebraska, the result is that, in value and tenancy respectively, the ranking is as follows:—

RANK IN VALUE AND IN TENANCY, SELECTED  
STATES

	Rank in value	Rank in tenancy
Illinois .....	1	1
Iowa .....	2	2
Indiana .....	3	3
Ohio .....	4	5
Missouri .....	5	4
Minnesota .....	6	7
South Dakota .....	7	6
Michigan .....	8	8
North Dakota .....	9	9

Surely, if this be a mere coincidence, it is a very striking one. But why drop Wisconsin, Kansas, and Nebraska? In partial answer it may be said that Wisconsin has always been remarkably low in tenancy, from causes which will be discussed later, and that Kansas and Nebraska have come up rapidly in tenancy, due to the unusual adaptability of their lands to extensive farming, and to the further fact that in them no considerable amount of available unoccupied land is left, to be taken by homeseekers and so for a time balance the tendency toward the purchase of land for speculation. Land held for speculation is

always for rent and the time has arrived in these states when tenants are plentiful enough to take the most of it. On the other hand, much land in Minnesota and the Dakotas goes begging for occupants; it must be worked by its owner or not at all, hence a very low rate of tenancy in the newer sections of these states, which holds the general average of tenancy down, in spite of a high rate in the older sections where speculators and tenants are both plentiful. It is in the older states that conditions are more uniform and apparently more stable, and it is in these states that values and tenancy seem unmistakably to be travelling the same road, and at a somewhat similar rate of speed.

The trend of tenancy for the group during the past thirty years is shown in the table: —

PER CENT OF TENANCY, 1880-1910

	1910	1900	1890	1880
Illinois . . . . .	41.4	39.3	34.0	31.4
Iowa . . . . .	37.8	34.9	28.1	23.8
Indiana . . . . .	30.0	28.6	25.4	23.7
Ohio . . . . .	28.4	27.5	22.9	19.3
Wisconsin . . . . .	13.9	13.5	11.4	9.1
Nebraska . . . . .	38.2	36.9	24.7	18.0
Missouri . . . . .	29.9	30.5	26.8	27.3
Minnesota . . . . .	21.0	17.3	12.9	9.2
Kansas . . . . .	36.8	35.2	28.2	16.3
South Dakota . . . . .	24.6	21.8	13.2	3.9 <sup>1</sup>
Michigan . . . . .	16.0	15.9	14.0	10.0
North Dakota . . . . .	14.3	8.5	6.9	3.9 <sup>1</sup>

Throughout this period the relation between value of land and the rate of tenancy has been substantially as shown for 1910 above. It will be noticed that the slight decline in tenancy for Missouri during the past

<sup>1</sup> For Dakota Territory.



ten years is the only instance of the kind occurring in the group during the thirty years.

The close relationship between value of land and rate of tenancy is even more strikingly brought out by a comparison of groups of counties within a state than in the comparison of one state with another. Within the state of Illinois, in a block of fourteen counties where farms are reported at \$150 or more per acre, there was ten years ago 50.6 per cent of tenancy. In these counties at the present census there is 54.7 per cent of tenancy. Not only is the amount of tenancy high, but it is increasing rapidly, more rapidly than in other parts of the state. In another block of nineteen counties, in which the value of farms is less than \$50 per acre, in 1900 there was 27.8 per cent of tenancy, while now there is 29.7 per cent. This is but about two-thirds the proportion of tenancy for the whole state, and the rate of increase is below that for the state. The same general conditions prevail in Ohio, which we may view from a little different standpoint so as to include all farms of the state. It is found that in thirty counties in the eastern and southern parts, having an average valuation for farms of \$60, or less, per acre, the per cent of tenancy ten years ago was 19.5; at present it is 20.8; not a great change for the period, and a low proportion in each case. In the remaining two-thirds of the state, the per cent of tenancy in 1900 was 30.9, while in 1910 it was 33 per cent. It is just here, roughly the middle of Ohio from north to south, that we find the pronounced break in the tendency of farms to slip out of the hands of the owners and into the possession of tenants, for from this line to the east tenancy declines, while to the west, at least to the Rocky Mountains, ownership declines.

The same relationship between values and tenancy may be seen in Missouri, where in sixteen counties in the northwestern part of the state with values of \$60 and over per acre there is 33.5 per cent of tenancy. This is well above the general average for the state and is slightly above the per cent for the same counties ten years ago. In the northeastern part of the state a like number of counties with values below \$60 stood at 27.0 per cent in tenancy in 1900, but fell to 24.6 per cent by 1910. In Indiana the nineteen counties in which farms are worth, per acre, \$100 and up have 36 per cent of tenancy. The twenty-five counties with values at \$50 and below have 21 per cent of tenancy. These groups happen to be, respectively, about equally above and below the average values and average tenancy for the whole state.

More examples might be given, but so far as the writer has made the test, the general relationship holds within each state. That it will hold where other conditions are equal seems to be beyond controversy. It does not always hold good from one state to another nor even within a given state, because of varying conditions; yet the exceptions are comparatively infrequent.<sup>1</sup>

Not only has tenancy either decreased, or increased at a relatively slower rate, in all parts of the North Central states where the price of land is below the average, but the actual number of tenants has in many instances decreased. That is to say, some farms which had been worked by tenants have passed into the hands of owners, tho in more cases, as in such pioneer sections as southwestern Kansas, the lower proportion of tenancy is due, not to this move-

<sup>1</sup> See article on "Tenancy in Iowa," *Quarterly Publications American Statistical Society*, March, 1911.

ment, but to the development of new farms operated by owners, the tenant farms holding their own in numbers or even increasing. Or the tenants may have decreased, but not so fast as the owners, such being the case in the high-priced sections of Illinois, and in half or more of Iowa. This of course means a decided increase in the size of farms. In the thirty counties of Ohio having farms under \$60 per acre on an average there was a decrease of more than 1800 in the number of tenant farms, while in the rest of the state there was an increase in this class of over 2900. In both cases the number of land-owning farmers decreased, giving as a net result a number of farms for the state smaller by about 5300 than ten years ago. As a matter of fact the farms increased in size in all states of this group except South Dakota, but the increases were far from uniform over the states. In those districts in which the system of farming seems to be undergoing little change, an increase in the proportion of tenancy seems as a rule to be associated with an increase in the size of the farm. A gain in ownership, on the other hand, is associated with a change in the opposite direction or with absence of change. This does not hold good in districts where, for example, great wheat farms are being broken up into smaller ones; for here the first result is an increase in tenancy.

Values of land and size of holdings are by no means the only factors in the tenancy problem. Among others it may be mentioned that the character of the farming done is not the same in the case of the tenant and the land-owning farmer. In this North Central group of states, according to the census of 1900, the tenants had charge of more than their proportional number of farms on which hay and grain were the prin-

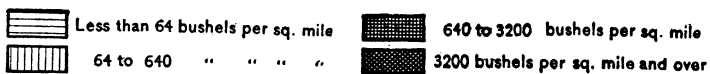
cipal products. On the other hand, they had little more than half their proportion of the live stock farms. These two classes of farms comprise the greater part of all farms in this section; hence in the proportional distribution of these farms between owners and tenants is seen the leading characteristics of tenant and land-owning farmers, so far as the general type of agriculture is concerned. The tenant raises grain to sell; the land owner more often raises it to feed to live stock. The tenant produces but three-fourths of his proportional share of hay and forage, and this corresponds almost exactly to the proportion of the cattle which he owns. In the ownership of sheep he is even farther behind the land-owning farmer. Yet in the case of swine he has his full quota, and here is an exception to the generalization that the tenant raises grain to sell; tho he does this to a great degree, he feeds a great many hogs.

The leading cereals of the North Central states are corn and wheat, together constituting about four-fifths the value of all cereals. The tenants grow only two-thirds of their share of the wheat, yet they exceed by one-third their proportional share of the corn. In the case of wheat, the conditions vary widely from state to state. In several of the distinctively wheat-growing states the tenants are growing more than their proportional share, leaving them with much less in the other states. With corn the conditions are more uniform, the tenant raising throughout proportionally more than the land owner. The less usual crops, such as vegetables, fruit, and tobacco, are grown mainly by the land-owning farmer. Couple with these facts of tenancy, — the prevalence of grain growing in general, and of corn growing in particular, and the scarcity of cattle and sheep, — the charac-

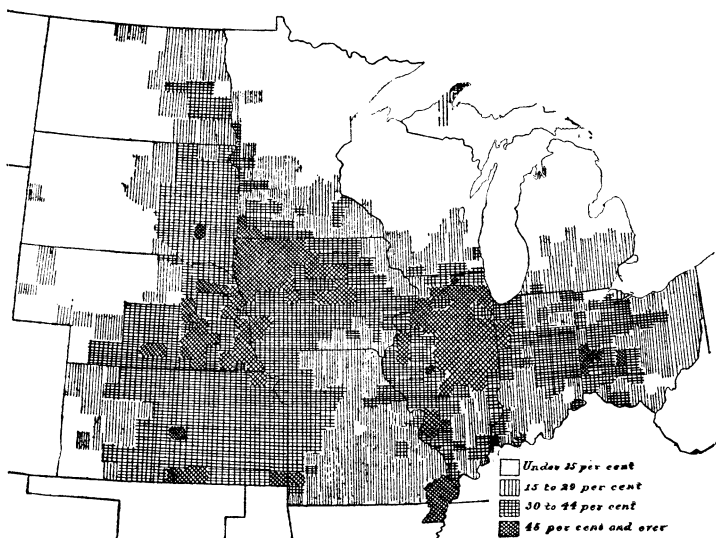
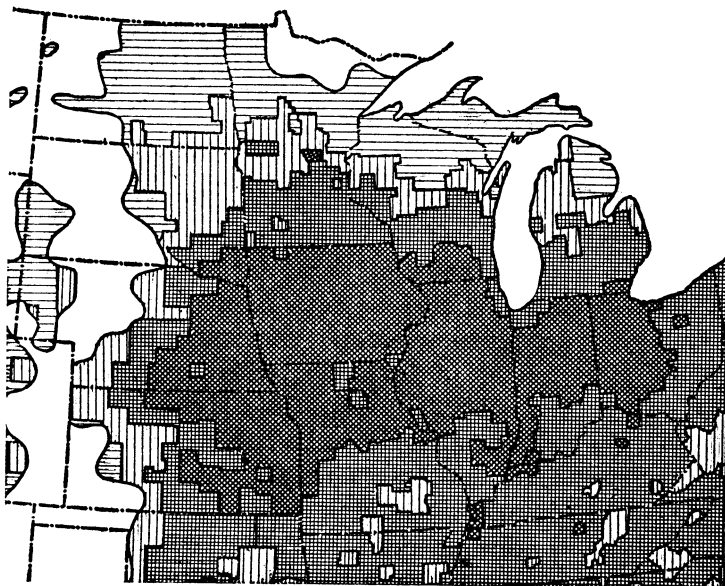
teristics of the tenant farm itself. There is the same value in land per acre, and not far from the same number of acres; but the buildings are worth but five-sixths as much as on the farm occupied by its owner. In implements and machinery the tenant has a little less than his proportional share; tho this is due in the main to the fact that he is less in need of such things as haying tools, corn binders, or milk separators than is the land owner. Tenants are seldom handicapped by lack of implements. The tenant farmer himself is much younger than the owner; he stays on the same farm not to exceed about a third as long a period of time as does the owner. These facts are all significant. They picture a farmer with a poor outfit of buildings, with comparatively little grass land, with little live stock, giving his attention to the growing of grain to be hauled immediately to market. The one exception to this condition is the feeding of much of his corn to hogs.

If these conditions are accurately outlined they present a reason other than the high price of land for the concentration of tenancy on the better land. The tenant is not equipped for doing the more exacting work of stock farming. He lacks the capital with which to begin. He wishes to engage in a business which will yield returns during the year, not after a period of years. Again, he is not encouraged by his landlord to go into live stock to any extent; the landlord is not anxious to put a great deal of money into the necessary barns, silos, and fences. Even should he have the opportunity to raise stock on a given farm, the probability that he will be obliged to move within a short time is a discouragement against doing so, since the next farm he takes will in all likelihood not be so well equipped. In one respect landlord

## PRODUCTION OF CORN PER SQUARE MILE



The absence of shading indicates the unsettled area



PERCENTAGE OF TENANCY, 1910

and tenant seem to be agreed, — they want prompt returns on the outlay. These conditions cause the tenant to gravitate toward the section where the type of farming for which he is fitted, and which meets his needs, can best be done. This means a district adapted to the growing of grain, especially corn.

That tenants are prevalent in the heart of the grain-growing section may be seen from the maps on page 722. The striking similarity of a tenancy map and a cotton area map for the South has often been noted. The relation of the corn belt to the density of tenancy in the North has not attracted so much attention. The map showing the corn belt is from the census of 1900, while that showing tenancy is for 1910. There is, however, no serious incomparability on this account, since the corn-belt outline is quite stable. The resemblance between these two maps, even as they stand, cannot escape notice; and yet, as it happens, they are so constructed as to cover up certain coincidences. For example, the corn map shows the same density for northeastern Missouri and southern Iowa as for the greater portions of Iowa and Illinois, while the fact is this section had just barely enough corn to admit it to the first class. On the other hand, a considerable number of counties within this area were just low enough in tenancy to drop them into the lower class on the tenancy map. A map more carefully shaded (as might be done by the dot system of mapping) would show a closer relationship than is here brought out. The other important instance, aside from the one mentioned, in which the two maps do not correspond, is the projection of the dense tenancy area into southwestern Minnesota and eastern South Dakota. This is a region in which the acreage of corn has increased rapidly during the past ten years;

therefore a map showing the corn area up to date would correspond much more clearly with the tenancy map than does the one given. The same is true to a smaller degree of the southern limits of the corn belt, both corn and tenancy having moved in that direction. In Kansas and Nebraska, especially, the tenant is a corn grower, being decidedly low in live stock and hay production and, in Kansas especially, low in wheat production.

It is not intended to suggest that there is any magical connection between tenancy and the growing of corn. The connection is very much unlike the relation of tenancy to cotton growing. It would seem to be due more to the failure, perhaps the inability, of the tenant to enter the more profitable business of stock raising than to any other cause. True, in some cases the landlord requires the tenant to grow corn and deliver it to him at market price, in order that he may have a supply for feeding stock, and also in order to keep his land in better condition than it would be with small grain growing; but these cases are surely not very common. The tenant is the type of farmer to prefer the extensive to the intensive system of farming. In the northwestern part of this section, where corn has not proved a profitable crop, and yet where land has advanced rapidly in price, the tenant farmer is a wheat grower. This may be seen on the map if the wheat section of the Red River Valley be kept in mind, for over a considerable portion of this valley the tenancy shading is noticeably dark. These are the two sections, the corn and the wheat areas blending into each other, in which a simple exploitative system of farming is possible. Here tenancy is not only high, but is on the increase at a rapid rate.



Around the outside of this great area there is not the opportunity to plant and reap on a wholesale plan.

There is a great difference between the eastern and southern parts of Ohio and the rest of the state in respect to soil and topography, and the line of the division shows plainly on the tenancy map. In the southern and eastern portion, with its hilly land, wheat and corn are not grown in great quantities. It is here that sheep raising and dairying are common, neither of which businesses predominates amongst tenants. These businesses are not adapted to the ability of the tenant; the soil is not adapted to the crops which he prefers. It seems that a diversified type of farming is all but inevitable in a district of this kind. Again, this is not the land to rise in price as does the richer and smoother land, and so does not get beyond the reach of the farmer in price per acre. The advantage of the large holding is less than in the case of land adapted to the growing of grain, thus contributing another factor toward keeping the value of the farm unit from rising too high for the farmer of moderate fortune. In Michigan, where tenancy is low, farming is diversified. Fruit growing is prevalent, in some counties great quantities of potatoes are raised; dairying, and sheep raising predominate in others. All of these facts apply to Wisconsin, which among the older states has a lower rate of tenancy than any other in the middle West. Wisconsin is preëminent in the dairy business, but ranks comparatively low in grain. Unquestionably there are other factors than those here discussed which must receive attention in a treatise on tenancy. Among these is the matter of nationality of the farmer, — and the affinity for land of the Germans and Norwegians, so numerous in Wisconsin, is proverbial.

Passing to Minnesota, the chances for long furrows and a smaller variety of operations for a given farm increase greatly. And immediately tenancy is more frequently found. In a few of the choicest counties forty-five per cent and over of the farmers are tenants. Why, it may be asked, since wheat farming is of the extensive sort even more than corn, does not the same amount of tenancy develop in connection with it? The answer is not difficult. Up to the present time wheat has been a pioneer crop. It has been raised for a comparatively few years, ten, twenty, or thirty, after which it fails to yield as well as before, and is followed by a more diversified system of agriculture. During the wheat régime the value of the land is low. There is other land not very different which can be homesteaded, or bought at government price, or on long time from a railroad company. While these conditions obtain there are indeed always a great many speculators, non-resident landholders, who would be glad to let their land on almost any terms. But the farmer can buy for himself, and does, but no one can be found to take the speculator's land.

Ten years ago there was very little tenancy in North Dakota. At present there is a great deal in the eastern part of the state; but the western half is a poor place to hold land with the expectation of lively competition for it on the part of tenants. The same is true to a much smaller degree of western Nebraska and Kansas. These states, with land lower in price than that of Iowa, have about the same proportion of tenancy. Here again is the contrast between the more and the less diversified farming. It is not certain diversified agriculture cannot develop in these states, as in those to the east of them; but it is certain that for the present they lend themselves more readily to

exploitation under a one-crop or two-crop system. Here, especially, the tenant keeps few cattle or sheep, produces far less than his proportional part of the hay, but gives his attention primarily to producing corn and hogs. Everything is favorable for a high rate of tenancy. The land is too dear in price for the poor man's pocketbook. It is level, uniform, and easy to till. Moreover it is held in large tracts, making it easy for the tenant to get in one block all he can cultivate. Under the system of farming here practised these large units are more efficient than smaller ones, but the great size is in itself a factor, in addition to the high price per acre, precluding ownership by a man of small means. In these states, as in the others previously noticed, high prices of land and high tenancy go together, and low prices and low tenancy together. In Kansas where the land values are fairly uniform over a considerable part of the state, tenancy shows a similar uniformity. In Nebraska, where the range of prices is much greater, there are many more counties in each of the extreme groups, all of the conditions of high tenancy being present in the eastern part of the state and the low values excluding it from the western part.

Turning to Missouri the conditions are essentially different. The whole south central part of the state is broken and hilly. Thus it is quite well adapted to fruit growing and diversified farming, but poorly adapted to the cultivation of the cereals on a large scale. Hence tenancy here corresponds to that of Wisconsin, Michigan, or eastern Ohio, in contrast to that of the leading grain-growing districts. This land is still largely undeveloped, is low in price, and is therefore in great measure either occupied by its owner or not at all. Southern Illinois and Indiana

are likewise not so well adapted to grain farming. Here again, with the smaller farms, and the still smaller fields, combined with low prices of land, the conditions are favorable for ownership which is, as previously stated, relatively high.

From two different standpoints, then, the same facts are discovered. High price of land and high rate of tenancy go hand in hand, likewise low price of land and low rate of tenancy. Yet it does not follow that the one condition is the sole cause of the other. The American farmer has been slow to adopt a diversified system of farming. Labor has been the scarce factor, and therefore the dear one. The great desideratum has been a system which required the minimum amount of labor, and since land has been the plentiful agent, it has been exploited as tho it would continue to yield crops gratuitously for all time. With the growth of population and the consequent demands for more foodstuff the value of land has followed the rise in the prices of its product. But the land which responds best to immediate demands rises most. As a result the fertile land capable of producing good crops without the use of high-priced fertilizers, or great outlay for drainage, rises first and highest. And while this movement is in progress there is a process of natural selection by which the less efficient farmers are shifted to the cheaper land of the outlying districts; or if they remain, they, or more likely their sons, are within their own neighborhoods relegated to the class of tenants. Speculation is still prevalent in the sections of high-priced land, and is a great factor in keeping the price so high that ordinary commercial returns cannot be made on the investment except by men and methods above the average. This is in itself one of the primary causes

of tenancy. Such a sifting and shifting does not take place in the sections where land is less well adapted to exploitation and less attractive to speculators; hence the less efficient may retain ownership. At the same time the type of farming adapted to these sections favors the efficient.

These conclusions are borne out by the fact that within the districts of high-priced land the farmers practising the intensive methods or the rational method of diversification are those who in great measure own the land they till. In the parts of Iowa, for example, where dairying is most prevalent, even tho the price of land is high, tenancy is relatively low. The same is true of the intensive farming, such as truck and fruit growing. It can be done, and is done, on high-priced land without the aid of a separate landlord class. Hence the conclusion seems inevitable that the system of farming is a factor equally important, if not more important, than the price of land in turning the scale in favor of ownership or in favor of tenancy. Those who engage in what is called the mining type of farming are losing their hold on the soil. Those engaged in a more profitable type are retaining it to a much greater degree. Whatever forces raise the value of land make greater demands on the farmer who aspires to its ownership. What ever increases the efficiency of the farmer makes ownership more probable. The extensive pioneer methods of farming succumb in the face of great waves of rising prices.

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